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property at that time did nothing. With all this there is no reaction, and it will be the same when the smaller land owners will lose their properties. Even the peasants who have two to three hectares are afraid of losing their land; since the Communists have not yet touched them, however, they are quiet.

4. One of the reasons why no one is complaining, even those who have lost everything is fear. In every village the leaders are constantly arrested. From every village about 10-15 persons are taken to the Siguranța in Constanța, some never return. Others who return never say anything because they are afraid.
5. The trusted people of the Party and Government in all these movements are loaned by the trade unions which are dominated by the Communists. Thus at the AFSM (Farm association and machine station) in the villages and counties, the leaders are members of the trade union "Dearobirea" from Constanța. These workers from the port have no special knowledge of agricultural machinery. They supervise the machines and the cooperatives. In Constanța County it should also be noted that in the majority of the villages the Communists have put in local mayors the Gagati, who left Bessarabia during the famine of 1936-37 and came to the Dobrudja. These people lived on the outskirts of the villages, and were never claimed by the Russians. Now they have become the sincere tools of the Communists by enrolling in the Party.

#### Activities of the Militia and State Siguranța

6. The Militia was created with the purpose of controlling that part of the population which did not follow the regime.
7. In order to promote uniformity in the Militia many changes were made among the old elements, especially in Gendarmerie posts in the villages. Previously there were two or three villages under one Gendarmerie post; each of these has now been placed under the control of one or more former policemen sent from the city. The former Gendarmes who were not trusted sufficiently were transferred to the city Militia. On a whole, however, by the creation of the Militia to replace the two old units, the number of Communist tools in the executive field has increased. The Militia is much larger than the Gendarmerie and Police combined. By its creation, however, some of the old groups have been quietly liquidated, and in their places many other Communists, including those who have recently become Communists, or those who have attended the Communist schools even briefly, have taken their places.
8. Over these elements, which are more executive, there has been placed the recently organized People's Security. It is the old Siguranța which can be found at each district police court. Even today the people still call it the Siguranța; however, their men call themselves the representatives of the People's Security. In reality they are the political police. They are the ones who make arrests at night, after 1 a.m. in a most discreet manner, without warrants or any order from the Court (although this is forbidden in the present constitution). They may hold anyone at the People's Security prison for any length of time. At Constanța, the People's Security occupies one of the best constructed buildings, the former Rumanian Bank, which is isolated and equipped to take care of the "enemies of the people". They have built cells, torture chambers, flogging rooms, with chains attached to the walls (according to information received from the school teacher Filip, from Amzacea). Following the organization of the People's Security, measures were taken in all the district and county seats to place prisons at its disposal. Where there were no prisons, these were constructed. Thus at Calarasi and across the Danube at Ostrov at the county seat, in January the People's Security were constructing cells in a requisitioned home and putting in the necessary installations.
9. It must be noted that all Police activity is carried out in accordance with the orders of the Rumanian Workers' Party. Such activity was formerly the function of the Ministries of Interior and Justice. Now all the heads of the People's Security or Militia are in constant contact with the Party organization in the district or county seat. No arrest or any police intervention is done without reporting ahead of time and obtaining orders from the Rumanian Workers' Party. Contact between the People's Security and the Rumanian Workers' Party is direct and constant.

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10. The Liberal Party, led by Bejan, on paper still has four deputies in Parliament. As late as November 1948, these Liberals still held meetings in Bucharest for the education of their Liberal youth; however, since that time nothing has been heard of them. Nothing has been heard about Gheorghe Tatarescu. It is known that he had to go to Poiana (Gorj), after his dismissal from the government. The former minister of Cults, a Tatarescu man, Radu Rosculeț, who is also from the same village as Tatarescu, is still a deputy in the present Parliament, but he does not attend its meetings. He lives now at Constanța, where he has a house which he built in 1939-1940. He was a lawyer, but was debarred. Today he earns his living by gambling. The Tatarescu organization hardly exists. There were only about fifteen persons in the whole of Constanța County who belonged to the Tatarescu group but they have all abandoned Rosculeț. It should be noted that the Rosculeț family benefited from the so-called era of the "democratic party bloc". A cousin of Rosculeț, Radu Voicu, also a lawyer-merchant, was until the dismissal of Tatarescu the assistant mayor of Constanța. During that time he made a huge fortune from Schnapps (for example he would buy 10 carloads of apples with a price equal to 30 lei and then sell them at the highest price of 40 lei). All the decent people hated them.
11. The Ploughmen Front is still maintained so that it can tell the peasants that they were not taken over by the Rumanian Workers' Party and that they are independent. Members of the Ploughmen Front follow the same activity and ideology as the Communists. Every day, if possible, the peasants get together to read and discuss the editorial in Scântea. On Sundays they attend meetings conducted by the Communists. Almost every leader of this Party belongs to the Rumanian Workers' Party. They have been allowed to go over to the Ploughmen Front and work there under the orders of the Rumanian Workers' Party. For example, Victor Dusa from Constanța, an old Communist, who in 1943 was in jail for six months for his Communist activities, and Prefect of Constanța County from 23 August until the end of 1947, moved to Bucharest when he was elected a member in the Central Committee of the Ploughmen Front.
12. The Ploughmen Front is not popular in the country. It is an artificial organization which is tolerated and maintained by the Communists. In Constanța the head of this party is Ivan Lupu from Tatarul, formerly a sheep herder who worked for Yalub Hagi Mehmed, a rich Turk. Lupu was given five hectares of land in 1945; however, he went to Constanța and became the head of the Groza organization in the district. Now he has progressive "ideas". He has made his former Turkish patron the Mufti of the Moslems in Constanța, thus the religious leader of the Turks and Tartars in the Rumanian Republic. The Ploughmen Front has extensive organizations in the villages; in each village there is a Ploughmen Front home. In some villages the Front has a better organization than the declared Communists. Despite this, these organizations are foreign to the people and are composed of those few who are interested. It is expected that the Ploughmen Front is to be abolished within several months or a year, following the precedent of the National Popular Party.
13. The National Peasant and Liberal Party members have no activity. Some of the National Peasants have been arrested and others have left Constanța in order not to be apprehended. Vasile Lapădatu, president of the National Peasant Party has fled. Ivan Despina, lawyer and Secretary General of the National Peasant Party has left and is hiding in Bucharest. The heads of the National Peasant organization in the city of Constanța and in the county have completely withdrawn and do not mix with the Communists. Some of the former members who are timid have joined the Ploughmen Front.
14. The head of the Liberal Party in Constanța, Vasile Belu, has fled and is hiding in Bucharest. Mihai Constantinescu-Cluc, Secretary General for the Constanța district has been in prison at Pitesti for one year. Recently he was freed. The lawyer Gheorghe Popa has withdrawn to his small farm in the village of Nicolae Bolcescu (formerly Ferdinand), waiting for the confiscation of his property.

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15. The Communists carry out their activity methodically. They control everyone whether members of their Party or not, and such people lead their lives according to Communist orders. The workers, clerks, all salaried people, high school students, university students, children and women are forced to attend meetings. Meetings are held constantly in Bucharest and in every county seat and in the large cities. There is not a week in which two or three meetings are not held. For example, it is announced that at 5.00 p.m. a meeting will be held and that all the city and factory trucks and cars, as well as those of other establishments, will collect the people and take them to the gathering which is to be held in a large city square to protest against the Atlantic Pact or against the executions which were carried out by the "Greek Monarcho fascists" of Papagos. When these meetings are held all activity ceases everywhere.
16. In addition to these street demonstrations, the Party conducts its consolidation activity in every field and by all the means which it has.
17. Every city is divided in 10-15 sectors, each with its headquarters. Every night the members gather in their sector and work in their party cell. Only party members are admitted to these meetings. At the cell, discipline and party ideology are taught to the members. In the morning before starting their work at the factory, office, school, and lyceums (starting with the VII class, which is actually the V class under the old system), all persons must be present for the "Scanteia hour". At this meeting the latest editorial is read and comments are made thereon. Then all are questioned to determine if the Communist ideas have been instilled. In this sense all the people, starting with the youth, must be kept up to date with Communist theory, even if they do not understand it or do not sincerely accept it.
18. The entire day of each citizen is filled with Communist activity. People have very little time to themselves. The workers are generally not satisfied but keep quiet. Too many promises have been made to them. Only about 66 percent of the workers have been made leaders, or they have been moved to the prefecture, the militia, or the cooperatives. They complain on every occasion when they can find someone whom they can trust. At times some of the workers are bold and talk openly to anyone. Always they are worked to death and are forced to be at the disposal of the Party and ARLUS for meetings and the like. They earn about 1,000 lei a week, about the same sum as in former times. Workers have preferred ration cards, but this means only their wives or relatives must wait in line for every little thing and lose precious time. They do not have any recreation such as available previously. From daybreak until late at night they are forced to work - for the Party and not for themselves. The workers are not satisfied; in the majority of cases, however, they are regimented and supervised more severely than others since they are a shock element for the Communists.

#### Use of Charges of Sabotage by Local Government Officials

19. The destruction of vineyards and claiming that it was sabotage: Around 10 February, 1949, a vineyard of 25 hectares belonging to the Botez family of Bucharest, located at Ostrov on the Danube in Constanta County caught fire. The grass being dry like in the fall because there had been no snow (it had been like this all winter in Rumania) caught fire immediately and burned hundred of meters of the vineyard. The fire spread to the neighboring vineyard of Ion Andreescu, but it was put out. The administrator of the Botez vineyard, one Radoiu, after he put out the fire with the aid of his neighbors, went on the second day to report the fire. While on his way he met the head of the People's Security from Ostrov, a certain Ionescu, and his assistant, a former sergeant of the Gendarmerie (who had been transferred to the People's Security), the assistant mayor of Ostrov and the Communist representative in the locality, all of whom had been notified of the fire by the AFSM administrator (the vineyard region near the Bulgarian frontier is mostly populated by Bulgarians). All these persons met Radoiu and ordered him to return. It was officially determined that this fire had been an act of sabotage, that the fire was set by the owners "because they feared that the vineyard would be taken by the State". Such rumors said to have been spread by the reactionaries, "since the vineyard contained more than five hectares". Radoiu, together with the vinedresser and the administrator of the neighboring vineyard, Andreescu, were called in the second day and arrested. They were

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taken from post to post until they reached Constanta, where after one week they were freed. At the vineyard it was maintained that the fire was started by the authorities that is, the AFSM administrator, a Russian from Bessarabia who lived in the Botez home which had been taken over by the AFSM. The Botez vineyard which had about 25 hectares of land was taken over by the State on the grounds that the owners had attempted sabotage.

#### The Moslem Minority

20. The Moslem population of Constanta and Tulcea Counties in the Dobrudja (there are 15,000 in Constanta County and 4,000 in Tulcea County) maintain a reserved attitude toward Communism. Since they are religious to the point of fanaticism, Communism cannot touch them. Despite all this, however, the Communists have been able to find several law elements, approximately two or three in every village, who are used as the Communist desire, in order to force the Moslems to accept the regime.
21. Until 1948, the Turks and Tartars in the Dobrudja remained outside the Communist organization and at the elections gave proof of their attachment to the old regime and to Western democratic ideas.
22. In July 1948, however, the Turkish Democratic Front was organized in Rumania. The president of this Front is a worker at the port of Constanta named Halit. The general secretary is a certain Yusuf Haglomer, a shoemaker from Constanta. Their intellectual is the engineer Irfan Fevzi, who is 28 years old. Irfan Fevzi is used as much as possible by the Communists today since he is trying to save his skin. Formerly he and his father published the Turkish magazine Bora, which advocated independence of the Crimea. During the Antonescu regime he was named as the engineer of the DPM (Port and maritime management). Today he retains this position, but must obey the Communists. He is forced to talk at all meetings. Another important person in this Front is the Turkish school teacher Mustafa Emir.
23. The Turkish Democratic Front was at first unsuccessful. A program presented by Irfan Fevzi declared that it is necessary to enlist the Turks under the new Rumanian Democratic regime, following in the footsteps of the Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Hungarians, in order that they might obtain the rights of which they were deprived by the old reactionary regimes. In the future, he declared, they would have schools, newspapers and the right to work. By threats and other maneuvers they succeeded in getting some people into the Turkish Democratic Front. This front has its headquarters at the intersection of Strada Stefan Cel Mare and Strada Mitropolitul Saguna, in Constanta. It has four apartments with dance hall, lecture hall, radios, and phonographs. At the present time notices of meetings are sent to the homes of Turks, and recipients must sign these announcements. For this reason some of the Moslems in the city of Constanta and the county attend these propaganda meetings from fear.
24. The Turkish Democratic Front is completely dependent upon the Rumanian Workers' Party. All its activity is directed by that Party and their meetings are checked by it two days before they take place.
25. It should be noted that the Turkish population is intimidated by threats to move it to some other part of Rumania. As early as 1947, a certain Muflic, an old and ardent Communist from Castel who was arrested during the Iron Guard regime and interned at Targu Jiu called attention to the necessity for the Turks to join the new regime, and to orient the Turkish youth along the Lenin-Stalin line. If this was not done, he said, measures would be taken against the Turks, and they would be sent to other parts of the country since they are good farmers. This threat was reiterated by Irfan Fevzi at a recent meeting of the Turkish Democratic Front in Constanta.

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26. The Communists have not interfered with the Moslem religion in Rumania. Since 1944, however, five Muftis have been appointed in Constanta. These were:
- a. Muri Resul
  - b. Murat Yusuf
  - c. Cemil Resit
  - d. Rifat Mithat
  - e. Yakup Hagi Mehmet, the present Mufti.
27. Each one of these Muftis was replaced by an individual more active and more communistically inclined. The first Mufti was not controlled by the Communists, but the remaining have been their tools. Yakup Hagi Mehmet is considered to be a Communist, although he is wealthy and has farms amounting to more than 50 hectares. It is believed, however, that Yakup will not long remain the Mufti of the Turks in Rumania. The priests, the so-called Imami and the Hogii, who followed their own political beliefs were placed under the control of the Mufti. A part of the Imami were replaced because they did not support the regime. In 1948 school teachers were given their positions through the Turkish Democratic Front. Teachers' applications were placed with the FDT which in turn would pass them on to the School Inspectorate with a favorable or unfavorable comment. The School Inspectorate then sent them to the Ministry of Cults. Only Turkish teachers who belonged to one of the Communist or Communist Front Parties were accepted.

#### Soviet Military Activities in the Dobrudja

28. The exact number of Soviet troops in Rumania has never been known, but it is estimated that there are about 100,000 still in Rumania. In Constanta they occupy the following garrisons:
- a. 34 Infantry - "Naval Base" (Marine Regiment)
  - b. 9 Cavalry Regiment
  - c. 13 Artillery Regiment
  - d. 18 Howitzer Regiment
29. Soviet troops occupy the following buildings: Constanta Prefecture, Court of Appeal, Courthouse (a separate building), the new building of the Mircea Col Batran Lyceum, the Industrial Lyceum for boys, a building of the Internal Revenue at Constanta, the military hospital, Constanta prison and the Rex Hotel at Mamaia. The Soviets also occupy the entire town from Piata Ovidiu to the port. The Turkish Mosque which was built by King Carol I was ransacked and destroyed by the Soviets, and at present services are not held in it. The Soviets took out and burned the floor and the steps to the second floor. They have also robbed the nearby Rumanian Orthodox Cathedral, which is in their sector. Services are presently held in the Cathedral. The Tomis Episcopacy building was taken over by the pisciculture section of the Polytechnical School.
30. It is estimated that there are about 15 - 20,000 Soviet troops presently in Constanta. There are more than 5,000 Soviet troops in the old barracks of the 34 Infantry Regiment. These men play soccer and basketball and can be seen by everyone. From the 34 Infantry Regiment barracks companies depart in the direction of Mamaia for training.
31. In addition to infantry, the Soviets have motorized troops, trucks, jeeps, and motorized artillery (the motorized artillery is of Soviet manufacture, the other machines are of American make and are in good condition). In the

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- courtyard and in the rear of the old barracks of the 18 Howitzer Regiment (an open yard) there are several hundred cannon of many calibers (some with large and long barrels) which are in good condition. There are also trucks which are being readied for maneuvers. No tanks have been seen and no cavalry troops have been noticed. All Soviet troops in Constanta are motorized.
32. A school teacher from the village of Valea Seaca in Constanta County stated that he had seen Soviet tanks which had arrived during January and February. At that time two of the six trains on the Bucharest-Constanta line were suspended.
33. During February trains coming from the direction of Bucharest and moving only at night, carried tanks.
34. This school teacher also stated that Soviet troops were encamped in the woods near Basarab (formerly Murfatlar on the Constanta line) during February.
35. In the Dobrudja there are in smaller groups Soviet troops at Cernavoda and Eforie near Constanta. In these locations all the homes and villas are occupied by the Soviets and no one not even in the summer goes in bathing. There are likewise Soviet troops at Tulcea, Babadog, Mangalia and Negru Vodă.
36. The Soviet troops in Constanta are constantly shifted. Since their arrival in 1944 they have repaired the homes and each home must reserve one room for a Soviet officer or non-commissioned officer. Often these officers leave suddenly and the rooms are empty for two or three weeks before the arrival of another Soviet officer.
37. There is no contact between the population and the Soviet Army; contact exists between the Soviet Commanders and Rumanian Government organs.
38. The prison in Constanta was first occupied by the Russians in June of 1945, and is presently held by them. They have enlarged and equipped the prison for the detention of Soviet soldiers from this area and from Bulgaria, increasing its capacity from 300 to 500. Thirty-five cells have been added in space formerly used for storage of food in the basement and for general storage. In the bath house about one-half meters of water has been left on the floor, and above the water they have constructed footpedals on which prisoners stand. Prisoners are forced to remain on their feet, for 5-6 days; if they cannot stand they fall in the water. They sleep standing on their feet. Rumanian prisoners are kept at the headquarters of the Siguranța.
39. Food for the Soviet Army is supplied by the Rumanian Government. The Soviets bring nothing from their own country. They issue bonds, which after a few months they cash in. Some of the tradesmen with the complexity of Soviet or Rumanian officials, have made great fortunes through false sales.
40. During January-February fewer Russian women were to be seen in Constanta. If Soviets have been gradually sending their families back home. Soviet schools still exist, but on a much smaller scale.

#### Salaries of Workers and Intellectuals

41. Grade school teachers in the city of Constanta receive 4,000 lei per month. Substitute professors at the Lyceum are paid 4,500 lei monthly. Professors with longer service receive up to 6,500 lei a month. Pay of judges starts at 5,000 lei per month. Officers receive the same salary as the magistrates. Dock workers, who work by the hour and are paid by the week, complain that

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they cannot earn more than 1,000 lei a week; their situation is not good. Everything is taken care of by ration cards issued in categories, A, B, C, D, and E. A and B cards are for workers according to their category, that is, heavy or normal work. C cards are issued to clerks and those receiving salaries in stores. D-1 and D-2 are for non-workers, that is, wives and children up to 14 years of age. E card is issued to the general public and is called a "black ration card", just about nothing can be obtained on it.

Situation of Small Land Owners in the Dobrudja

42. The peasants who have three hectares of land have benefited some this fall in regard to their harvest. Their situation now at the spring planting is much better than that of the peasants who have four or five hectares of land, since the Ministry of Agriculture has set up a progressive rate for the grain that must be surrendered to the State at the official price, that is, 5.60 lei per kilogram. For example, a land-owner with 3 hectares must give 200 kilograms of grain to the State at the official price out of a possible 2,000 kilograms which he produced. The 1,800 kilograms which were left could be sold at the free price of 20 lei per kilogram, or can be used for home consumption or for future plantings. A man owning four hectares must give the state 500 kilograms from his possible production of 2,500 kilograms. This progressive quota has left the owners of 10 hectares or more with nothing for food or seed, especially since recent years have not been normal and a hectare has yielded less than 1,000 kilograms. In such cases the landowner's must buy where they can to complete their State quota. They are required to buy seed grain from the State at 10 lei per kilogram.
43. Owners of 10 hectares or more were given no grace period; all who did not comply with the law were liable to prosecution for sabotage. Many of the small landowners have left their land and fled elsewhere. Their land was then taken by the State and transformed into collective farms.